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Kinship and marriage among the Coorgs.[1]

By M. B. Emeneau.

(*Communicated by Dr. B. S. Guha.*)

The Coorgs are an endogamous community of about 40,000 people who form approximately a quarter of the population of the province of Coorg, which lies in the mountains of western South India between Mysore State and British Malabar. They were originally the warrior owners of this tract and formed, and still form, the highest community in the social scale there (barring the few Brahmans who live in the province). It is doubtful how far they can be considered a caste in any strict Indian sense of the word, for they resolutely refuse to accept the ministrations of the Brahmans in any of their rites. No accurate ethnological account of these people has yet appeared. This paper gives a description of the marriage rites and the kinship system of those Coorgs who live in the central portion of the province, i.e. in Mercara and Virajpet and the district between these two towns and in Nalknad to the west; how far, if at all, the northern and southern extremities of the province present differences of detail is not known.

Kinship organization among the Coorgs takes the form essentially of father-sibs. Each sib (called oka) is marked as such by its name, which is borne by each member as his or her first name. All land is owned ideally, and a great part of it actually, by the sib as such and not by the individual; departures from this ownership system, whereby an individual by his own initiative or good fortune and without depending on the sib property acquires property which he holds as an individual, do not affect his position with regard to the sib property nor do they give the other sib-members a claim upon his individual property. In other words, individual ownership of land is an excrescence upon the traditional sib-ownership. It is the sib, moreover, that

[1] This paper represents part of the work done in 1936-37 during my tenure of a grant from the Penrose Fund of the American Philosophical Society. The phonetic writing used is in general that of the IPA. ə is the back, mid, unrounded vowel; c and j are palatal affricates, y is practically the English y. I write a subscript n at the end of a word to denote that the whole word is nasalized; e.g. in maɔvn, both the vowels and v are nasalized. The nasalization is best evaluated phonemically as a feature of the whole word and not of any separate vocalic or consonantal phoneme. When a suffix is added or the word becomes a member of a compound (e.g. in tamma: vi^{n}), the nasalization does not extend beyond the limits of the simplex.

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It is the sib, moreover, that
614 takes part in the communal affairs of village or district through
182 its headman; though all the affairs of the country must have been conducted by the hierarchy built up on this basis in the days before the rajahs and the British government, nowadays it is only social matters that are governed in this way and even these now tend to find their settlement in the courts. In some
614 religious ceremonies the sibs rather than the individuals seem
796 to play the chief part, e.g. at the village Karavaleba:daga near Mercara at the padra:|inamme (ceremony of Bhadrakā|ī) in the month mi:nia:ṛu, a dance called kodia:ṭu, is performed on several days both at the temple and on the dancing-green. In this the essential performers are a male member of each sib in the village, carrying each a kodi, or staff surmounted by cloth tied in the form of two cones with their bases together and the apex of one pointing upward. Each performer has his right arm bare and a fold of his turban hanging down his back. If all the male members of a sib should be unable to dance because of age or infirmity, the kodi must be carried by a member of another sib along with that of his own sib. It is the sibs that are represented at the performance, and individuals who dance in the line after the men carrying the staffs are a non-essential part of the performance, carry no staffs, do not wear their dress in the distinctive fashion of the sib-representatives, and may at any time drop out of the dance, which is forbidden for the staff-carriers. Again, in the Huttari festival (Coorg name: [243] putēri), when the first ceremonial cutting of the rice-harvest takes place, the ceremony should be performed not at each house of a sib, but at their original sib-house, the traditional center of the sib. It is only the wide geographical spread of a sib and the inconvenience that would result if the far-flung families had to gather in one small locality that makes it allowable for some families of a sib to hold their celebration at their separate dwelling-houses.

614 The sibs are exogamous. This rule has been stated by Ananthakrishna Iyer in the form that no marriage is possible between two persons of the same family name. This however is not quite accurate. The number of sibs in Coorg is unknown; some indication of their number is given by the fact that one of the large and prominent sibs is connected directly, i.e. by marriage of its members, with some fifty-five other sibs. But in the case of some of the sibs which have representatives in most of the villages of Coorg, the spread over the whole country is of so ancient a date that it is not remembered what the relationship is between some of the more distant branches. In such cases the Coorgs regard the sub-divisions as distinct sibs, and intermarriage is allowed between the branches; i.e. in these exceptional cases two persons of the same sib-name may marry, if there is no known relationship between the two branches and if there is no more recent relationship between the individuals.

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I said above that the organization is essentially one of father-sibs. The qualification is necessary since a woman upon marriage renounces her sib-name and her claim to maintenance by her father-sib and acquires her husband's sib-name and a claim to maintenance by her husband's father-sib.[1] The formal statement of her acquirement of a place in her husband's sib (the ceremony is called sammanda) is the crucial point in the marriage ceremony and will be discussed more fully below. Her membership in the new sib is of such a sweeping character that she may even lose her personal name and be called after marriage by the personal name of her husband's mother or grandmother, in cases where either of these is dead and it is desired to preserve the use of the name in the family (rather than in the sib), if it is not used by some other female sib-member whose intercourse with the new family would be so intimate as to cause confusion. Even after her husband's death the wife remains a member of her husband's sib and cannot lose her rights in that sib's property except by remarriage, which is permissible and apparently of fairly common occurrence. If her second husband should be a member of her first husband's sib (and often enough it is his brother[2]), representatives of her father's sib are sent for and they and the representatives of her husband's sib perform the sammanda ceremony. By it she is given to her new husband and reacquires rights in his sib with a new orientation. My informant was of the opinion that the new rite is necessary since her rights in her husband's sib are essentially co-rights with her husband. To this extent it seems that the family is recognized by the Coorgs as a sub-unit within the sib, though it is significant that the Coorg language has no word for this sub-unit. If the widow marries a man of a different sib from that of her first husband, her rights in her

[1] This point may be discussed here from the comparative point of view, since Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 109, has said that he knows of no well-authenticated case of a woman in a typical sib-organised society becoming a member of her husband's sib and losing membership in her original sib. The Coorg data provide a rather clear-cut case of this kind, with the qualification indeed that a foothold is retained by the woman within her father's sib, which may however never be utilized. It is true to be sure that the Coorgs are considerably above the level of a 'primitive tribe', as were the ancient Athenians instanced by Lowie. The organization of Coorg society shows a slight secondary accent on the conjugal aspect of the family group, in that the wife has rights in her husband's sib as a co-partner with him, but that this accent is slight is clear from the lack in the language of a word denoting the family unit.

[2] It will be observed that even if a widow marries her husband's brother, the process is not automatic, but her father's sib must be called in and the woman must reacquire rights in her husband's sib. This is certainly no example of the levirate. Similarly, while a widower may marry his first wife's sister, the process is not automatic, and we must rule this out as an example of the sororate. Neither of these types of selection is either compulsory or preferred.

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614 587 614 586 first husband's sib are extinguished with the formulas given in Appendix I, and in her father's house she is given to her new husband with the sammanda ceremony. A woman regains a permanent place in her original sib only by divorce. This may happen if she is grossly and persistently immoral or if she and her husband are continually at odds with one another (the former is much the more usual cause). In such cases the aruvës of the two families (see ref. [1], p. 130) negotiate between the two parties and if both families agree to a divorce, the woman relinquishes all claims to a place in her husband's sib and may never regain it by another marriage into that sib. She regains a place in her father's sib and keeps it, unless as rarely happens she should be sought in marriage by another man from another sib. My informant emphasized significantly that the woman is readmitted to her original sib not automatically but only if the sib is persuaded to agree to it. In the sammanda ceremony by a piece of symbolism the woman retains the right of readmission [585] to her original sib. The aruvë of the groom's party is given by her party eleven out of twelve pebbles; the remaining one is kept by her sib. This right to readmission is exercised in case [764] of divorce or of remarriage if her first husband dies. It carries with it only one other right in her father's sib, viz. if she should die in the house of her parents and the burial-ground of her husband's sib should be at an inconvenient distance, she may be buried [851] in that of her father's sib. Children by a woman's first husband always remain members of his sib, whether or not she leaves it by divorce or remarriage into another sib. If at the time of her leaving her husband's sib any children should be too young to fend for themselves, she may retain charge of them until they attain an age when they can care for themselves, when they return to the house of their own sib.

613 Marriage is forbidden also between a couple who are related to one another by descent through females only from a common female ancestor. There is not however among the Coorgs the same division of the people among female lines that I have elsewhere described for the Todas.[1] It seems probable from my informant's accounts that the relationships in female lines tend to be remembered for a comparatively small number of generations and even in some cases to be neglected when they are remembered, if it is considered that the degree of relationship is not close enough to hinder marriage. What degree would be considered distant enough to allow of intermarriage I could not elicit with any accuracy, but it seems that three or four degrees might be sufficiently distant, i.e. a relationship that is traced back through females to a common great-grandmother or great-great-grandmother. The proverb quoted in the fifth paragraph below refers also to this type of marriage. 7

[1] American Anthropologist, 39, 103–112.

7 [see cat. 116, pp. 142–144 -- Analyst] 2 [see p. 129]

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It follows from the two rules that have been stated that the marriage of cross-cousins is permissible. Such marriages occur, probably with about the same frequency in all classes of Coorg society, poor and well-to-do, rural and urban. My informant gave it as his impression that it was frequently considered that cross-cousin marriages were more suitable than others as creating new bonds of intimacy and friendship between the families concerned. He was emphatic that property considerations have no part in determining the frequency of such marriages; the bride brings with her merely a trousseau, and no other property is involved. Cross-cousin marriage is of the symmetrical variety; no tendency can be seen towards asymmetry. While the linguistic terms for cross-cousins cover, beside the children of brothers and sisters, also such more distant relations as the children of a mother's parallel male cousins or of a father's parallel female cousins, my informant in referring to cross-cousin marriages generally meant marriages between people of the closest relation. In the incident discussed in the following paragraph, the male cross-cousin who takes a part is if possible the son of the bride's father's sister or of her mother's brother.

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That cross-cousin marriages were anciently the preferable and possibly the universal type is to be inferred from an incident that takes place at weddings. It may be described here fully rather than in its appropriate place below. When the bridegroom is about to lead his bride from her family's house after the wedding ceremony, he may be stopped before he crosses the threshold by a male cross-cousin of the bride's who refuses to let her leave the house until he has been given a present by the bridegroom. The cross-cousin may be of any age, even a child in arms, and the incident is now looked upon as a piece of festive sport. But it is significant that he says (not however in any set formula) that the girl belongs to him and he will not let her leave. The present given varies in accordance with the means of the parties, but usually takes the form of a rupee or a gold sovereign. It may be kept by the cross-cousin or may be tied by him in the bride's sari as a present to her. The latter seems to be usually the case.

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While the evidence of kinship terminology might be invoked to support our conclusions in the matter of cross-cousin marriage and would fully support them, it seems to be unnecessary to bring this forward since the material facts already adduced provide sufficient evidence. It seems unwise moreover to base a great deal on the evidence given by kinship terminologies in the Dravidian-speaking areas of India. They are practically identical in all the languages of the area, and the same terminologies are used by such ethnologically diverse communities as the mother-sibs of the Malabar coast, the father-sibs of most of the rest of the area in question, the Coorgs and the Todas who practise symmetrical cross-cousin marriage, and communities

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which practise an asymmetrical form of cross-cousin marriage. Until we have exact ethnological and linguistic accounts of many more communities of the area than we have now, any correlations found between institutions and terminology must rest under suspicion of being in part accidental and not due to a coordinated development of the two. The kinship terminology of the Coorgs forms an appendix to this paper.

Within the group of the blood-relations of a man or woman, marriage is allowed only with the cross-cousin, either real or classificatory. This implies that within this group one may not marry except in his own generation. The matter was stressed by my informants, since in some of the Kannada-speaking communities a man may marry the daughter of his elder sister, and the Coorgs wished to point out that this is not allowable for themselves.

It will be evident from Appendix II dealing with kinship terminology that kinship terms are applied to many more people than actual blood-relations (see especially App. II, 7). The ramifications tend to become very wide-spread, especially when marriages take place outside of the blood-group, and when a man marries more than once; e.g. in the latter case, a man's stepmother is called cikavvĕ, her sister is called by the same term, the husband of this latter woman is ayyĕ, and his children, whether by this woman or by another wife, are called by terms for 'brother' and 'sister', though they are in no way blood-relations to oneself. It remains to ask whether in such cases the Coorgs apply in the field of marriage the dictum: like designations involve like social relations.[1] My informant (not the same gentleman from whom most of the information in this paper was obtained) said that the rule should apply that marriage is prohibited between any two persons who apply to one another brother-sister terms or terms denoting relationships between different generations. This rule however is not adhered to in practice and it was easy to call to mind in a few moments half-a-dozen cases where marriages had taken place between persons related in this way by terminology but unrelated in blood. The rules that must not be broken are those two stated above: the sibs are exogamous, and marriage is forbidden between a couple who are related to one another by descent from a common female ancestor through females only. On the history of this disregard of terminological relationships little information was gained. My informant's guess that it is due to the influence of education and the 'British example', and so is a very modern thing, is of little value. Of the cases mentioned none could have occurred more than half-a-century ago. But, since there was no mention of any opposition to any of these marriages, it is probable that such

[1] Lowie, *Primitive Society*, p. 148.

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marriages had been taking place for many years before that time. It is of some significance too that a proverb was quoted illustrating this matter: *ñaṇḍukku maṇḍe ille, koḍavēkku ca:ce ille* 'the crab has no head, the Coorg has no regard for kinship terms'. Such a proverb implies a rather long history for the social phenomenon in question. One factor making for disregard of what is obviously felt to be a rule of some validity is worth mentioning. In many cases a strict application of the rule would make it almost impossible for a man to find a suitable wife, even in a community of such a size as the Coorgs, and it must often be extremely convenient and even advantageous to all parties to disregard a brother-sister relationship which is based in no way on blood and may be felt as almost fictitious.

The age at which marriage takes place among the Coorgs is a matter for statistical investigation. It can only be said that girls are not married until after puberty and usually not for a number of years thereafter. The marriage song in main outline and in many of the details is traditionally fixed, needing to be adapted for any wedding only by inserting the appropriate names; it must be of considerable age and where it describes a different state of affairs from those now in vogue may be adduced as evidence of an older stage of the institutions in question, allowing for the possibility that it may be describing an ideal rather than any state that had an actual existence previously. In the song the girl who becomes the wife of the young man whose marriage is described is married five years after puberty. My informants are of the opinion that this represents an ideal, which is rather faithfully lived up to. Certainly marriages before the age of 17 or 18 years for the girl and before the age of 20 for the man are rather rare. It may be noted also that among the more well-to-do Coorgs it sometimes happens that a girl never marries. This may occur for various reasons, perhaps the first of which is that young men of the equivalent social status, for the same reasons that operate in Western society, find marriage economically difficult and tend to marry at a later age than is customary in other groups of the Coorgs. Consequently, a girl may not be asked for when she is in the full bloom of youth and gradually comes to be less desirable in comparison with younger girls. When this happens, a girl of this class may decide that it is better to stay in her own sib and wield there the influence that comes with advancing years and experience rather than snatch at any chance of marriage and enter into an unfamiliar environment where she will occupy for a long time, if not for the rest of her life, a position of secondary importance. If she arrives at such a decision, being a woman of sufficient strength of will to do so, she will undoubtedly be a strong enough character to persuade her family to agree with her. No stigma will attach to her in consequence which cannot be overcome with time and patience.

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584 The marriage is at present arranged by the families of the young people. The family of the young man approaches the family of a girl who is considered a suitable match and after much discussion arrangements are made; the girl is informed of them and in most cases she acquiesces. The authority of the family is ideally supreme. Young people have many opportunities of meeting, or at least of seeing one another, and as we should expect, matches that are not likely to be endurable are tacitly avoided by the elders of the family. Cases are known however where a girl has refused the arranged marriage and for various reasons elder members of her family have agreed with her and prevented the marriage; cases are also known where a young man after suggesting for himself a particular girl and carrying with him most of the other members of his family has found opposition from an elderly female member who disapproves of the girl and he has had to give up his idea. Life in a joint family, as is well known in other parts of India, is a matter [596] of the adjustment of conflicting stresses. The evidence of the [593] marriage song seems to show that at some time in the past a young man went out himself to look for a suitable girl and settled 584 the matter himself, without reference to his family until the time 174 for the formal arrangement arrived. There is probably some 533 historical truth in the account, but the period at which this [114] was the custom is not known. Richter's account of 1870 implies, though it does not mention explicitly, a state of things like that at the present day.

584 When a marriage is to be formally arranged and fixed, the aruvē[1] of the young man's family accompanied by representatives of this family, e.g. the man's father, his elder brother, or a brother-in-law, go to the house of the girl's family. There they meet the aruvē and the representatives of the girl's family. Formally the man's party declare that he will marry the girl and the girl's party that they will give the girl, and the aruvēs guarantee that [342] their respective parties will hold to the agreement. The cere- [778] mony is performed in the nellaki of the house, i.e. the portion of the central hall opposite the door, where a lamp hangs. It is regarded as the sacred part of the house and apparently the sanctity centers in the lamp, before which prayers are offered in the evening to the ancestors of the sib (or nowadays to any [585] other gods in addition). Most of the ceremonies to be described

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[1] Two sibs stand in mutual relationship to one another, so that each provides an aruvē for the other on certain ceremonial occasions. Their duties in connexion with marriage are described in the text. At a funeral the aruvē is present and seems to have been originally entrusted with supervision of the ceremonial. At present the office tends to become a mere formality and the aruvē does not necessarily come from the traditional sib. The man of the traditional sib is called mannaruvē 'land-aruvē'; one who is engaged for the occasion only is ponnaruvē 'gold-aruvē' and this term seems to carry with it some derogatory connotation.

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are performed at the nellaki. After this formal arrangement of the marriage neither party may withdraw from their agreement. 584 585

As soon afterwards as all the preparations have been made, a variable period but seldom more than a month or two later, the wedding takes place. The Coorg season for weddings is between the end of the paddy-harvest and the breaking of the S.-W. monsoon, i.e. during the months of April and May. In ancient times any other period was inconvenient and even with the advent of transportation by motorbus and automobile no change has taken place. The day for the marriage is frequently fixed nowadays by an astrologer (kanië), and the song gives ample recognition to this, though in this it may reflect the conditions of the last few centuries rather than of more ancient times. The ceremonies take place at the houses of the bride and bridegroom respectively. Ideally these should be the traditional central houses of the respective sibs (called aynumane). In very many cases however these houses are most inaccessible and perhaps not even occupied, and in such cases the actual dwelling-houses of the families are the scene of the ceremonies. [132] [178] [791] [533] [787] [342] [614]

The wedding ceremonies are now to be described. On the first day each of the two persons to be married goes through the mu:rta ceremony in the house of his or her family. It is essentially a ceremony in which the person is blessed and prosperity and fertility are ensured by the sprinkling of rice on the person and feeding him or her with milk by the members of his or her father's and mother's sibs. Early on the following morning the bridegroom arrives at the bride's house. Rice is again sprinkled and milk fed, to the bridegroom by members of the bride's father's sib, to the bride by members of the bridegroom's father's sib. Then follows the sammanda ceremony, by which the bride is made a member of her husband's sib. This is the essential ceremony of the marriage. The bride is then conducted from her house, being stopped as she leaves by her male cross-cousin, and is brought to her husband's house. There she performs the ceremony of carrying water into the house, as an earnest of the household duties that she will perform as a wife in this house. On that night the marriage is consummated. Details of the various ceremonies now follow. 585 614

On the first day of the wedding two separate but identical ceremonies called mu:rta are held, one at the bride's house the other at the bridegroom's. To each all the members of the respective sib and of the original sib of the mother of the central figure of the ceremony and all the members of the village sibs are invited. Preparations for the affair, cooking, cleaning and the like, have previously been made by the members of the house assisted by the closest or even by all of the sib-members. The bridegroom bathes on this morning in the bath-house; seven married women, who are not widows, from among his relatives, e.g. his sisters, his mother's and father's sisters, his uncles' 585 [614] [515] [602]

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wives, but not his brothers' wives, unless they are much older than himself,[1] must pour over him one pot of water each. After this he is arrayed in full Coorg dress, including the turban, dagger, and sword, and puts on heavy bangles and neck-chains. His long coat (kupia) should be white, as all such garments were anciently. The bride likewise is bathed by women and girls from among her relatives, no one being barred from this office except widows. She is dressed in her best sari and headcloth and decorated with a great number of ornaments, toe and finger rings, earrings, necklaces and chains, and hair-ornaments. When the guests have all arrived in the early morning (all wearing Coorg dress, though the men need not wear white coats), the bride and groom in their respective houses are brought forth into the nellaki. Each is wearing in addition to their full dress a cloth over the head, the bride's covering her face but left unfastened in front. Each, conducted by a near relative or friend of the same sex (in the man's case frequently the husband of his sister, in the woman's the wife of her brother), circles three times in clockwise direction a stool between two standing lamps and then is seated facing to the east on the stool, which has been covered with a cloth. The nellaki was anciently the place for the ceremony; at present it often takes place in the yard of the house in a pandal built for the occasion and fitted with the stool and two standing lamps, but not with a hanging lamp. This shift of scene is due to the fact that the house is frequently too small to accommodate all the guests. During the ceremony four Coorg musicians beat on drums and sing the wedding song (this I hope to present and discuss linguistically elsewhere).

When the central figure of the ceremony is seated, his or her mother, or if the mother is dead or a widow, the eldest married woman in the sib who is not a widow, stands in front of him or her. She takes from a large flat plate of rice a handful and throws some first to the hanging lamp, apparently as an offering to the ancestors of the sib (if the ceremony is outside in the pandal, this is omitted), then over her head towards the sun;

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[1] Younger ones are said to be restrained by shyness, but the fact is that they are women who are referred to as macini and are possible spouses of the man, in case they should be widowed and he should become a widower. Such relatives of a man, viz. all those whom he classes as macini and mamma, whether they are blood-relations (i.e. cross-cousins) or related merely by marriage, are the subjects of taboos with relation to him. They begin to operate when both parties have attained puberty. They may not touch one another, except in case of real necessity, nor may they sit on the same bench. Other specific taboos operating between these cross-cousins seem to be lacking, since in general Coorg men and women observe about the same taboos in speech and action that are observed in polite circles in western society. The specific taboos do not operate between any other classes or relatives; it may be observed that the taboo on touching is merely a very small extension of the usual reluctance of a Coorg man to touch a woman.

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with both hands then a little is sprinkled on the seated person successively at the joints of knees, elbows and shoulders, and finally on the head. Then she takes a small brass vessel (called kwndi) with a long spout, which is filled with milk, puts the spout through the open front of the veil to the mouth of the person, who drinks a little. Then she puts some money contained in a small bag into the hand of the person, and nowadays at least sprinkles rice into his lap, though this is unnecessary. The groom or bride then bends forward and three times touches the feet of the mother, after each touch putting the joined hands to his or her forehead. During this salutation the mother puts both hands on the child's head in blessing and ends by joining her hands and bringing them to her forehead. The mother is followed by all female relatives in some approach to an order by seniority and by the female guests in turn, and each goes through the same ceremony, the only difference being that gifts are presented without being enclosed in a bag. Widows are not debarred from performing the ceremony. If the female is younger than the bride or groom, the salutation made by touching the feet is performed by the guest and not by the bride or groom. After the women have finished, the men do the same thing, the first being the father, or if he is dead, the eldest male member of the sib, followed by the other male members of the sib in some approach to order by seniority and by other relatives and the male guests. The bride or groom is then conducted from the nellaki or from outside the house to his or her own room, and all the relatives and guests proceed to feast, first the men, then the women, and finally the servants of the house (who belong to the Holeya [poleyĕ] caste).

After the feast the guests are dismissed with the usual salutations (generally an abbreviated form of the salutation described above). Somewhat more formality attends the departure of the male members of the sib to which the mother of the bride or groom respectively originally belonged. They are conducted with music to the small pasture near the house and are seated there on mats. They are given betel and such light refreshments as sweets. Then a Coorg sword (odikatĕ) is offered to the eldest member of this sib with an invitation to cut down three plantain stems that have been fixed in the earth. Since each stem is nearly a foot thick and cutting each across with one slanting blow is a matter of strength and knack, he usually hands the sword to some younger member of his party who cuts them. It is said to be mark of respect to offer the sword, and likewise a matter of honour to cut the stems cleanly. At present the whole affair is treated rather jestingly and it is said that foreign bodies are inserted into the stems to make the stroke a more difficult matter. The sword is a weighty and well-balanced weapon and those stems that I have seen after they were cut had been neatly and accurately severed with one blow.

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585 After this ceremony of dismissal the guests generally nowadays
[574] return to the house for further conviviality.

The bridegroom spends such part of the night as may be necessary in travelling to the bride's house so that he may arrive about four or five o'clock in the morning. All the time
[777] previously he has spent in his own room and has not removed any article of his dress (it is said to bring bad luck if he or the bride takes off a single article of clothing or ornament until the two of them are together in his room on the following night). The bride meanwhile has got what sleep she can in her room in
[614] her own house. The bridegroom is accompanied by his aruvē and a party of his sib-members, including females. His mother and father stay at home to await the arrival of him and the bride. One of the girls or women of the party carries a basketry box (po:ḷia) filled completely with an odd number of measures of rice, an odd number of coconuts, some plantains, jaggery, betel-leaf and arecanut, and a kuṇḍi of milk such as was used at the ceremonies of the previous day. This she is supposed to carry all the distance, but the requirement is fulfilled if she carries it out of her house and then hands it to a servant or a male of the party, who again hands it to her when the bride's house is reached. She then hands it to a girl or woman of the bride's house who carries it inside. The pot of milk is used in the following joint-ceremony by the bridegroom's sib-members in feeding the bride. The other articles seem to have no part in the ceremony but are left at the bride's house. When the bride finally goes to her husband's house after her visit to her own home, she brings with her the box filled with eatables.

When the groom's party reaches the bride's house they are met by the bride's party and salutations are exchanged. They go to the pasture near the house and six plantain stems are cut through by the bridegroom or a member of his party in the same manner as three were cut at each house in the dismissal of the members of the bride's and groom's mother's sibs.[1] Then the

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174 585 [1] This cutting of plantain stems by the bridegroom's party has been conjectured to be a vestigial trace of marriage by capture. It seems highly doubtful however whether this can be the case. If only the bridegroom's party cut stems on arriving at the bride's house and the bride's on arriving at the bridegroom's house, we might consider that we had symbols of the bride's abduction and an attempt at rescue by her relatives. It will be noticed however that during the course of the wedding ceremonies there are altogether four occasions when plantain stems are cut. The bridegroom or some member of his party cuts six, some member of the bride's party cuts six, and the other two sibs most nearly interested, those of the groom's and bride's mothers, each cut three, the eldest male member being the person to whom the sword is offered. Considering that the Coorg marriage system was originally in all probability one of cross-cousin marriages, we may work out the complicated possibilities and it will be found that the present details as to who cuts the plantain stems and at which house they are cut, lend no support to a theory that Coorg marriage was originally one of capture. We may conjecture of course that

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parties go to the house and eat a meal. After this the bridegroom is seated in the nellaki on a stool, the bride is brought out and seated on a stool near him, and a joint-ceremony of rice-sprinkling, milk-feeding and giving of gifts takes place. The bride's mother, or her substitute as on the previous day, first performs the ceremony for the bridegroom and is followed by all the members of the party of the bride, while at the same time the ranking male member of the bridegroom's sib is doing it for the bride, followed by all the members of the bridegroom's party. After all have done the ceremony, the bridegroom is raised up by the man who has acted as his supporter on the previous day and performs the ceremony for the bride. He then takes her hand and raises her from her stool. She at once runs into the kitchen and stands there, waiting modestly.

At this point the two parties, bridegroom's and bride's, separate and form two lines facing one another. A formal conversation takes place between the parties whereby the bridegroom's party admit the bride as a member of their sib and the aruvēs undertake their duties, the one belonging to the bridegroom's sib that he will see that the bride is treated well, the one belonging to the bride's sib that if she returns to her father's house and refuses to rejoin her husband he will initiate a settlement of the matter. This, the sammanda, is the central point of the ceremonies. Before it has taken place, the bride is not yet married; after it, she is a member of her husband's sib even if her husband should die before the physical consummation of the marriage. The text of the necessary formulas will be given here; in practice other words may be added at various points, e.g. in the lists of things to which the bride acquires a right, but none, or very few of the words given, may be omitted. The names given in this text are those of my informant and his first wife; in the case of the aruvēs the sib names are correct, but the personal names are merely type-names. A member of the bride's party who knows the words begins: daṇḍu kaḍe na:do:nu: daṇḍu kaḍe bendu: aṇgēnaruvēnu:[1] sa:lu santa:na

these present details are not original, but a reconstruction which attempted to reconcile cross-cousin marriage and marriage by capture by meddling with the known details in the matter of cutting down the plantain stems would be in the highest degree conjectural. My informants say that in all cases the sword is offered to do honour to the recipient's party. It seems most reasonable to suppose that it is a vestigial trace, not of marriage by capture, but of the warlike tradition of the Coorgs. Each sib concerned nearly in the marriage is given an opportunity to show its ability with the sword, the chief traditional weapon of the Coorgs, with which enemies were beheaded, and the two sibs concerned most nearly are given the opportunity to cut double the number. It is in order to refer for a general critique of the marriage by capture theory to Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man*, pp. 180-81.

[1] aṇgē is a traditional part of the phrase; its meaning is unknown to the Coorgs, but is conjectured to be the same as that of aruvē.

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585 614 537 ku:ḍu kuṭumba sa:lu beci nindi:ra:. 'People of the district in two parties and relatives in two parties and aruvés, people of the lineages and blood relations, the assembly and the sibs, have you formed lines and stood?'

A member of the bridegroom's party answers: nindi:tu 'they have stood'.

Speaker of bride's party: a:naka ko:daṇḍ(a) okaḍa taṇgammë: nd(u) ënṇuvë kannina ku:tianḍ(a) okaḍa ka:ḷapë: nd(u) ënṇuvë baymbëṇgu tandu: bendu: paranditu tapa kovva: nd(u) a:yitu na:ḷu mu:rta no:ṭitu inde:këtu dinatulu maṇgula kuricitu indu maṇgul(a) a:ḍi bandalli taṇgammë: nd(u) ënṇuvë kannina ka:ḷapë: nd(u) ënṇuvë baymbëṇgu sammanda koḍukanalla.

'If so, in the matter of the girl called Taṇgammë of the Ko:daṇḍa sib and the man called Ka:ḷapë of the Ku:tianḍa sib, having made an offer of marriage and relationship, having agreed saying that they would give and they would receive, having looked for an auspicious day and moment, and eight days before today having formally arranged the marriage, now today when the marriage procession has come, let us give the girl called Taṇgammë to the man called Ka:ḷapë, giving her rights in his sib (sammanda).'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍuka.
'Let us give.'

Speaker of bride's party: a:ce:ṇgi ku:tianḍ(a) okaḍa kë:ku nindë gurumano na:lu kë:t(u) aramano ni:ru balipë kaṇatare nu:ra:yira baṭṭi[1] bu:mi nu:ru kaṇḍa[2] ba:ne upëḷa ne:ṇgi noga taye tami allate bu:mir(a) a:ka e:ka e:kaḍ(a) e:ri kuṇḍitere ku:ḍa sammanda koḍutira:.

'If so, of the Ku:tianḍa sib, the ancestors' shrine[3] which stands to the east (of the dwelling-house), the palace (=house) with its four buildings (round the central court), the well where they draw water, the arable land of 100,000 measures, the pasture land of 100 pieces, the plough with which they plough, the yoke, the harrow, the yoke-rope, and besides that, of the arable land the large paddy-field, the paddy-nursery, the banks of the paddy-nursery, the manure-pit, all did you give her as her rights in the sib?'

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[1] More usually a:yira baṭi '1000 measures'.
[2] More usually patu kaṇḍa '10 pieces'.
[3] Usually in ordinary speech called kaymaḍa; each original sib-house (aynumane) has such a shrine of its ancestors, supposedly on the site where the first ancestor was buried and frequently enough actually containing a tomb.

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Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: okuvĕ ka|a ka|atwlw bo:ṭi cita:ril(w) aki kommel(w) upw tuyyatw ma|u karavatw pu|i kalatwlw pa:ra bindigel(w) ēṇṇe baraṇilw ney allate kaḍacekallw ammikallw bi:juvĕ kallw meypē|(a) o|ake cavṭuvĕ ra:ṭe bakatw guḍḍa ka:cuvĕ gañji ko:tuvĕ combw kaṭuvĕ pu|i ku|ipē|a pa:re atakoṭw kaḍwcikoṭw meypĕ koṭw pu|likoṭw ku:ḍa sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The floor where they thresh, the post on the threshing-floor (round which the cattle go in treading the grain), the rice in the storehouse, the salt in the basket, the chillies in the big store-basket, the vinegar in the pot, the chutney in the pot, the oil in the large vessel, the ghee in the pot, and besides that, the stone mortar and pestle, the roller grinding-stone, the stones with which they grind, the wooden pestle with which they pound paddy, the pounder which they tread, the bath-house in the lane, the boiler which they heat, the pot with which they dip, the fuel which burns, the tiled floor where they bathe, the cattle-shed, the calf-shed, the shed where they pound paddy, the fuel-shed, all did you give as her rights in the sib?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speakrr of bride's party: e:lato:ṭa ka:pito:ṭa pu|ito:ṭa ha:|eto:ṭa toṇgwto:ṭa iñjito:ṭa mañjato:ṭa pañjeto:ṭa ku:ḍa sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The cardamom-plantation, the coffee-plantation, the orange-plantation, the plantain-plantation, the cocoonut-plantation, the ginger-plantation, the turmeric-plantation, the vegetable-garden, all did you give as her rights in the sib?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: nē:ti ketuvĕ matw bi:di ketuvĕ kati maṇga|apĕ guddali cuki po:nĕ co:mĕ madici po:nĕ po:ri patwkuḍi a:|w paytakĕtw patw karapa paymba|i nellw nell(w) a|apĕ pa:ni koci a|apĕ se:rw aki a|apĕ ma:na ne:lelw to:kw mu:|elw ba:|w a:ṇilw kati ta:kwnĕ ta|ia tu:kwnĕ bo|ica cu:dwk(w) irwmbw cuṇḍekw modalw ondwtoṭw nu:ro:|a sammanda koḍwtadallate kw:tisaḍ(a) okaḍa kaṭwl(w) ajjĕ toṭwlw kuññi olekĕt(w) ajji sa:laḍaṇga ba:laḍaṇga sammanda koḍwtira:.

'The axe with which lifting they cut, the knife with which waving they cut, the hoe with which they dig earth, the bullock which became restive and strayed, the male buffalo which lusted after the female and strayed, the servants in ten families,

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585 614 539 the ten pairs of bullocks, the ten milch cows, the ten measures of paddy, the two-seer measure with which they measure paddy, the one-seer measure with which they measure the servants' wages, the half-seer measure with which they measure rice, the gun in the hanging slings, the long sword in the corner, the sword on the nail, the plate which they leaned against the wall, the lamp which they hung, the iron for making needles, among the articles even as small as the cunḍe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, not only giving as her rights in the sib, but also of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib, the old man on the bed, the child in the cradle, the old woman at the hearth, the family line complete, did you give her relationship with these ?'

Speaker of bridegroom's party: koḍwtatw.
'We gave.'

Speaker of bride's party: eŋgaḍa kuññia maka niŋgaḍa manekw ba:|w ba:ke bandalli niŋgaḍ(a) okaḍa ni:rw nē|atwlw iñji mañja naṭitw ko:|i pandi ca:kitw w:|emba:|e ma:ritw nē:ḍwnē paṇatwna cepw|(w) wṭw beca:na na:|e piniandw niŋgaḍa kuññia mak(a) ōḍwtit (w) allasalla: nḍ(w) ēṇṇwce:ŋgi iḍwŋgm javabda:rēn a:nantē aŋgēnaruvē da:rw.

'When our child has come to your house to rule it and in marriage, the money which she has earned, by planting with water and in shade ginger and turmeric, by rearing fowls and pigs, by selling (the fruit of) creepers and plantains, and has kept in a box, if on some day later your children have taken that money and have said: "We did not take it (lit. it is not so)," who is the aruvē who becomes the person responsible for this ?'

The aruvē of the groom's sib: na:nw.
'I.'
Speaker of the bride's party: niŋgaḍ(a) okapoda ennw.
'What is your sib-name ?'
Aruvē: tamba:ṇḍa.
Speaker of bride's party: a:|wpeda ennw.
'What is your personal name ?'
Aruvē: mutaṇṇē.
Speaker of bride's party: maṇṇaruvēna: ponnaruvēna:.
'Are you the aruvē of the traditional sib or a temporary aruvē ?'
Aruvē: maṇṇaruvēnu: aku ponnaruvēnu: aku.
'I am both.'
Speaker of bride's party: okaperiavē^{a}na: a:|wperiavē^{a}na:

'Are you the oldest member of the oldest generation of your sib or the oldest member of the sib regardless of generations?' It is the latter who is the koro:ka:rē or headman of the sib, though of course the oldest member of the sib is usually also the oldest member of the oldest generation. This question, like the

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previous one, is asked to establish the aruvĕ's claim to speak for his sib. It does not necessarily follow however that the aruvĕ is the permanent koro:ka:rĕ of the sib; on such occasions as this, the oldest member of the sib who is present at the ceremony ranks as koro:ka:rĕ for the time being.

Aruvĕ: okaperiavĕ"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavĕ"nu: aku.
'I am both.'

Speaker of bride's party: idari pannerandacira ponnu. ĕ:ra unḍe:ŋgi taralu. kammi unḍe:ŋgi kĕ:ṭavalu.

'Here! take 12 gold coins. If there are too many, you may give us (those in excess). If there are too few, you may ask (for enough to make up the deficiency).' With these words he hands to the aruvĕ eleven pebbles, which represent the 'gold coins'; their significance has been discussed above.

The aruvĕ after counting says: pannandacira ponne: u]]ĕ.
'It is just eleven gold coins.'

Speaker of bride's party: oracira ponnu illi haku sta:paneku becaṇḍi:tu.

'One gold coin we have kept here with us to retain her rights in her own sib.'[1]

Speaker of bridegroom's party: inda:kaṇeku i: taŋgammĕ: nd(u) ēṇṇuvĕ kanni niŋgaḍa taŋge maka. indwtoṭu me:vara ku:tiaṇḍ(a) okaḍa ka:]apĕ: nd(u) ēṇṇuvĕ baymbēṇḍa pommaka maka. annane ba:]ike bandĕ poṇṇu mane ca:-yille: ndu: añci uṭitille: ndu: paṭi ja:ruva: ndu: koṭu to:ruva: ndu: o:ṇilu kete: ndu; ca:ṇaku kayya: ndu: ni:ruku du:ra: ndu: ma:vĕ"ṇḍa ba:yiguṇa po:ra: ndu: ma:vi"ra kayguṇa po:ra:ndu: oḍeyēṇḍa mayguṇa/ po:ra: ndu: maciṇicira managuṇa po:ra: ndu: ku:]u kuycatu: ndu: kari kaycatu: ndu: na:yi kaḍicatu: ndu: pu:ṇe ma:nduci: ndu: ĕtu kutuci: ndu: payyu cavṭuci: ndu: kokaci ketuci: ndu: ba:kemane buṭitu ta:manek(u) o:ḍi oḷici po:yitu a]atitu ba:manena pa]andaṇḍu ta:manena tudicaṇḍu a]ataka fia:ya" paranditu tiddi ni:kitu baṭeku tu:ḍu: ku:ṭuk(u) a:]u: koḍutitu ayci tapantĕ aŋgēnaruvĕ da:ru.

'Until today this girl called Taŋgammĕ has been your younger sister and child. From today onwards she is the wife of the man called Ka:]apĕ of the Ku:tiaṇḍa sib. If the woman who thus came in marriage says: 'The house is not good,' or 'They have not tiled it,' or 'The yard is slippery,' or 'The shed leaks,'

[1] My informants seemed somewhat uncertain as to the fate of these pebbles. It seems that they should be tied into the hem of the bride's sari before she is led out of the house. Certainly no great importance is attached to them in themselves and they are not kept for any length of time.

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585 614 539 or 'The lane is full of mire,' or 'It is impossible to carry dung (to the paddy-field),' or 'It is too far to go for water,' or 'My father-in-law's words are not good (lit. the qualities of his mouth are not enough),' or 'My mother-in-law is niggardly in giving supplies (lit. the qualities of her hand are not enough),' or 'My husband is impotent (or, neglects me sexually, lit. the qualities of his body are not enough),' or 'My younger sister-in-law is not affectionate (lit. the qualities of her mind are not enough),' or 'The rice was too hot,' or 'The curry was bitter,' or 'The dog bit me,' or 'The cat scratched me,' or 'The bullock gored me,' or 'The cow kicked me,' or 'The she-buffalo gored me,' if saying such things she leaves the house into which she married and going running and hiding to her father's house she sits there and stays speaking ill of her husband's house and praising her father's house, who is the aruvē who having talked it over and settled it will give her a torch for the path and a servant to accompany her and will send her back!'

The aruvē of the bride's sib: na:nu.
'I.'

He is identified in a dialogue verbally the same as that which identified the other aruvē, the differences being only in his sib and personal names, which were given in this case as karo:ṭira and ma:dapē respectively. After he answers: okaperiavē"nu: aku a:ḷuperiavē"nu: aku, the speaker on the bridegroom's side says: idari takuṅku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa. 'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise.' Three annas (= paṇa) are given to him.

The speaker of the bride's party: eṇgaḍa kuññia makaku nu:ru bira:ṇḍa poṭi aññu:ru bira:ṇḍa poḍea tuṇi a:yira bira:ṇḍa pa:vu padi:ca o:le ma:le samo:ta i: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭituv maṇgul(a) a:ḍi po:nalli a: okaḍa nellakilu ēṇṇa baṇṇa noṭuvaka baṭelu: bayḷu: ka:nate kō:ḷate po:ce:ṇgi iḍuṇgu javabda:rēn a:nantē aṇgēnaruvē niṇgaḷannes:.

[583] 'Belonging to our child, the box worth 100 pagoda-coins (the pagoda = 4 rupees), the saris and clothes worth 500 pagoda-coins, the jewels worth 1000 pagoda-coins, including ear-ornaments and necklaces, having checked over their number and size in the nellaki of this sib, they will go in the marriage procession. After they have gone, when in the nellaki of that sib they check over their number and size, if on the path any has been lost unseen and unheard, is it just you that is the aruvē who is the man responsible for this!'

The aruvē of the bridegroom's sib: na: nanne:.
'Just I.'

Speaker of the bride's party: idari oke teraṇgatē be:li e:ri teraṇgatē kallu annane takuṅku tapatē sa:ksipaṇa.

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'Here! take the witness-money so that you will not break your promise, (being immovable) as the fence over which the jungle does not encroach and the boundary-stone beyond which the walls of the paddy-nursery are not shifted.' With these words he gives three annas to the aruvĕ. 585 [614] [539]

After the bride has thus been made a member of her husband's sib, he goes to the kitchen and without entering it takes her hand and brings her out. After this, her mother removes the cloth which he has up to this time worn on his head and puts it on his shoulders; he may leave it there or remove it entirely after this. He and his party with the bride and some members of her party then start for his house. As he is bringing her out of the house, the incident with her male cross-cousin takes place as has been described above. When they have arrived at the house of his sib, formal salutations take place, noteworthy among them those of the bride to her parents-in-law, and some member of the bride's party cuts six plantain stems. The bride is led into her husband's room and remains there except for the water-carrying ceremony. Everyone receives betel and light refreshments. Then the bride removes her veil and is led out to the well with music and accompanied by all the people. She breaks a coconut and pours the juice into the well, and then carries on her head a pot of water from the well to the house. Formerly according to tradition and the wedding song, she also carried a load of dung to the paddy-field. These are her first household duties in her new sib. She is led back to her husband's room and replaces her veil. Then all have the midday meal and the bride's party are led with ceremony as far as the pasture near the house and are dismissed. After this, songs are sung by Coorg singers and in them the bride is given her new personal name. This may be one quite different from her old one, if as has been said above, it is desired to perpetuate some name in the house or if the bride's name is the same as that of some woman already in the family and confusion might result. Or, her name as an unmarried girl may be kept with the change only of -ammĕ or -akĕ, the terminations of the names of unmarried girls, to -avvĕ, the termination of the names of married women, as happened in the case of the woman whose name is given in the text above; Taṉgammĕ became Taṉgavvĕ.

The bridegroom is brought to the nellaki by his best man, throws rice to the lamp and salutes all the members of his sib who are present. He is then led to his room, where the bride has been all the time except when led out to carry water. He now removes her veil, and the marriage is consummated on this night. On the following morning the villagers return, are fed at midday and formally dismissed. After some days, a variable number but usually the next day, the bride returns without her husband to her father's house. No ceremonies take place. Richter's statement that the bride is treated as a polluted woman [114]

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585 and is unable to touch cooking utensils and causes her family
[114] inability to take part in ceremonies as does a woman after child-birth is definitely untrue and is vigorously contradicted by my informants. After a short period her husband is invited by her family and with a companion he comes and takes her to his house and thereafter she lives there.

[587] Of the two ceremonies, mu:rta and sammanda, the latter ceremony is performed at every marriage. The former can be performed for a woman only once in her life, however many times she marries, and so is not done when she remarries. For a man, on the other hand, it is performed each time he marries. Consequently, if a widower marries a widow, the mu:rta is performed for him alone and on the following day the sammanda is performed, giving the woman rights in his sib.

114 In giving this account of the institutions and ceremonies of Coorg marriages I have in many places tacitly corrected previous accounts, especially that given by Richter. On examining his description it was found that very many of the details as given by him were vigorously contradicted by my informants. It has not seemed necessary to draw attention in most cases to the discrepancy between my account and his. My account has been carefully checked with a number of Coorgs of some age and experience and from a number of localities within the large district whose institutions I have described. It will be found, I think, that wherever my account and Richter's disagree, mine may be accepted as correct.

115 The main part of the information presented was furnished by Mrry. K. Calappa Avl., retired sub-magistrate and additional sub-judge, Mercara, Coorg, to whom I must record my gratitude for this and for the linguistic information which he gave me
124 freely over a period of eight months in 1936-37. His information
114 was supplemented for this paper by many conversations with other Coorgs and by attending and making notes at several weddings to which I was hospitably invited.

Appendix I.

Readmission of a woman to her father's sib.

586 If a widow wishes to marry a man of a different sib from that of her
587 first husband, or if, as happens rarely, she wishes because of ill-treatment
614 to return to her father's house, a ceremony of readmission to her father's
796 sib and renunciation of all claims to a part in her first husband's sib is necessary. After all arrangements have been made, a formal ceremony (called kallupara kaypé 'the ceremony of the pebbles') takes place at the nellaki of her first husband's house. Representatives of the two sibs and the aruvé of the two sibs gather. The movable property of the woman, her clothes, etc., are brought to the nellaki. The parties separate into two lines as in the sammanda, and the aruvé of the woman's sib
[534] says: dandu kaḍe na:ḍo:mi:ilavé nu:bendu: aggoaruvénu: e:lu kāṭi nindira:.

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'People of the district in two parties and people of the house and relatives and aruvés, have you formed lines and stood?' (The wording as given is slightly different from that of the introductory sentence of the summonds, but the intent is identical, and either wording or others still different may be used at either ceremony.)

The arust of the husband's sib: nindi:tm.
'They have stood.'

Arust of the woman's sib: a:nak(a) ikka—[woman's sib-name] oka:ja co:makö: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddi—[husband's sib-name] oka:ja apéyyé: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddira ba:ju ba:ko bandalli apéyyé: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddira a:yisa korn a:yitu: co:makö: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddira adrunja kötjad(u) a:yitu: patw ka:la baddu ba:vökw runa illata:nagguvja inda:kajo niggaja pommaka maka: nd(u) ðppiöjé co:makö: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddina poppu kötjate:ggi ta:maane:[1] ndw bayyakw ka:kiavja po:lva:.

'If so, after the child called Co:makö of the—sib came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé of the—sib, his life having become short and her luck having become bad, because it was not their destiny having ruled to rule the house for more (lit. ten) years, now according to the saying: "If a woman has fallen into trouble, her father's house (is the place for her)," may we go taking back the child called Co:makö who up to today was said to be a wife among you?'

Arust of husband's sib: kuva:ju mariadi annano.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Arust of woman's sib: a:naka co:makö: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddi apéyyé: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddira ba:ju ba:ko bupaka ahéva:w bira: nnera poöibu a:yira bira:nnera ma:luna a:la:jagga ba:la:jagga terakiavja banda:nja upöitu ufurittu miöjuna:na bayyak(u) öjjata:vja po:lva:.

'If so, what is left over, after her eating meals and wearing the clothes, of all the jewels and clothes worth 1000 pagoda-coins in the box worth 800 pagoda-coins which the child called Co:makö brought with her when she came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé, may we go taking it back?'

Arust of husband's sib: kuva:ju mariadi annano.
'According to the custom of past time.'

Arust of woman's sib: idari a:knipapa.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the husband's aruvé.

Arust of the husband's sib: ba:tw. a:naka co:mavvé:[2] nd(u) ðppuvé kuddi apéyyé: nd(u) ðppuvé kuddira va:ju ba:ko bandalli co:mavvéggw ca:dak(u) iruvaku cuvjoku modalu ondwiotja nu:ro:ja—[husband's sib-name] oka:ja manelu annanda kodupaka—[husband's sib-name] oka:ja manelu co:mavvégg(u) iöjé annandatuna kovvaöji nigga tandé pannandari pom(u) idari. beei tapa.

'I have received them (lit. it came). If so, here! take the eleven gold coins which you gave on taking sib-rights which were Co:mavvé's in the house of the—sib when we gave to Co:mavvé rights in the house of the—sib (all things, even to) the iron for making needles, among the articles

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[1] The proverb has a second sentence: a:ju kötjate:ggi aranaane 'if a man gets into trouble, prison (lit. the palace; sc. is the place for him).'

[2] The husband's party use the name that the woman had in his house, with the -avvé termination, while the woman's party have been using the form suitable to an unmarried girl, by which she was known to them before her marriage.

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614
539
796

[551]

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even as small as the cuppe-fruit, all from one to one hundred, after the child called Ocmeevvé came to rule the house and in marriage to the child called Apéyyé. We will give (the coins).' With these words he hands over eleven pebbles.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them (lit. they came).'

Aruvé of husband's sib: idari na:kuipana.
'Here! take the witness-money.' He gives three annas to the woman's aruvé.

Aruvé of woman's sib: ba:tu.
'I have received them.'

After this ceremony the woman is taken with her belongings to her father's house.

If she should be leaving her husband by divorce, much the same formulas are used, the main difference being in giving the reason for her leaving.

Appendix II.

Coorg kinship terminology.

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The kinship system is of the type known as the Dakota-Iroquois system. A summary of the Coorg system follows:

1. There is no self-reciprocating terminology. In Ego's generation his siblings and classificatory parallel cousins on the one hand and his classificatory cross-cousins on the other are indicated by terms which denote age older than himself and younger than himself respectively. Consequently, none of the terms used within Ego's generation are self-reciprocals.

2. No term is found denoting an individual whose sex is unspecified. Collectives which class the sexes together are found in three cases (see U, Y, and Z in Table 2).

3. Siblings and classificatory parallel cousins are classed together in each generation.

4. In Ego's generation a dichotomy is made in classification on the basis of age older or younger than himself (see 1). In the first ascending generation, Ego's father's male siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the father's, and Ego's mother's female siblings and parallel cousins are permissively dichotomized on the basis of age older or younger than the mother's.

5. The father is distinguished from his brothers, and the mother from her sisters.

6. Ego's generation and the first ascending and descending generations show a use of terms perfectly in accord with a strict system of cross-cousin marriage. Further, no terminological distinction is made between siblings and classificatory parallel cousins of any degree of remoteness, or between classificatory cross-cousins of any degree of remoteness. Consequently, in the first ascending generation there is a separate term (*G*) for the father's sisters and parallel female cousins, and this is used also for the mother's female cross-cousins and her male siblings' and parallel male cousins' wives. Similarly, there is a separate term (*J*) for the mother's brothers and parallel male cousins, and this is used also for the father's male cross-cousins and his female siblings' and parallel female cousins' husbands. In Ego's generation the classification of cross-cousin applies to all the children of those in the first ascending generation who are classed according to the preceding two sentences. In the first descending generation a distinction is made between two groups, (a) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the same sex as oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the opposite sex from oneself (these are classed with Ego's

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children), and (b) the children of one's siblings or parallel cousins of the opposite sex from oneself and of one's cross-cousins of the same sex as oneself. Members of (a) are possible mates of members of (b). For (a) a collective term is found disregarding sex, i.e. 'children'.

7. The terms that would apply to Ego's mate's relatives if the mate were a cross-cousin apply also to those relatives when the mate is not a cross-cousin.

8. A step-mother is called by the same term as a sister of the mother, a step-father by the same term as a brother of the father. (This is not evidence for levirate and sororate, but would follow from a strict cross-cousin marriage system; see ref. [9], p. 125.)

9. Two classes in the first descending generation yield one class only in the second descending generation; there are two terms, one for each sex, for grandchildren. For these a collective term is found disregarding sex, as for 'children' in 6 above. Similarly, the second ascending generation is divided only on the basis of sex.

10. The third ascending generation, like the second, has two terms differentiated on the basis of sex. For the third descending generation there are no unitary terms, only phrases, see Z in Table 2.

11. All the above statements are valid whether Ego is male or female.

12. For husband and wife there are separate terms, *odeyā* and *pomma* respectively.

Bibliography.

A bibliography of the meagre writings on the Coorgs will include the following as the most important items in English (there are no books on the subject in any other European language):

Rev. G. Richter, *Manual of Coorg* (Mangalore, Basel Mission Book Depository, 1870). This is the earliest account and must be taken into consideration despite its limitations; it is still available at the publishers.

Lewis Rice, *Mysore and Coorg* (Bangalore, Mysore Government Press, 1878); volume 3 on Coorg. This is an almost verbatim reprint of Richter's book, with few additions or changes of any importance.

Pandanda Muthanna, *Coorg and the Coorgs* (Siddhapur, Coorg, C. M. Ponnappa, 1931). A small book with some good material, but on the whole meagre and disappointing.

Dewan Bahadur L. K. Ananthakrishna Iyer, Presidential Address to the Anthropological Section of the Indian Science Congress, Hyderabad (Deccan), 1937. The Dewan Bahadur promised a book on Coorg similar to his *Cochin Tribes and Castes* and *Mysore Tribes and Castes*; since his lamented death in February 1937, it has been announced (Man, Vol. 37, No. 129) that his manuscript was at the time of his death almost completed. Pending the desired publication of this manuscript, it has seemed desirable to publish this account of one side of Coorg life, especially since in the printed presidential address there is one very serious misstatement. It is said there that among the Coorgs cross-cousin marriage is prohibited; this is definitely not the case, the evidence given in this paper will show that cross-cousin marriage must be considered to be the favored form among the Coorgs, either operating as such at some past period, or at least held as an ideal.

I must express my gratitude to Dr. David Mandelbaum for his criticisms and suggestions on numerous points in the paper.

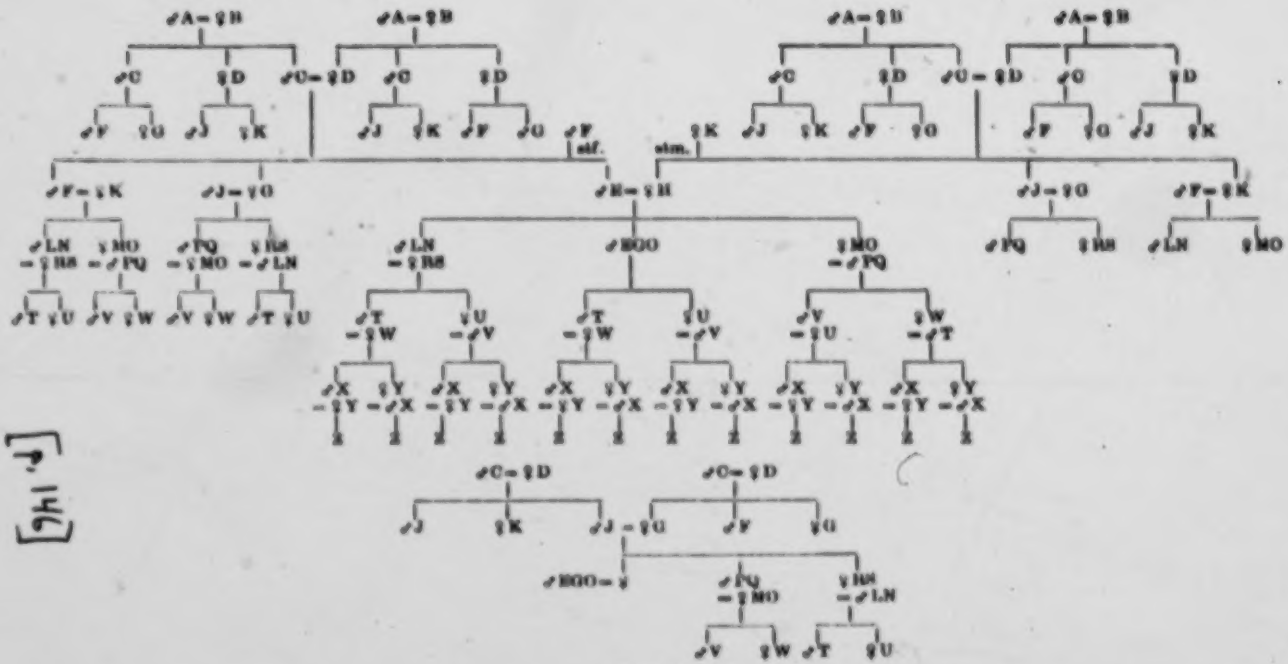

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TABLE 1.

The Coorg kinship system. The terms corresponding to the letters entered in the chart are given in Table 2. The collateral lines have not been carried down through all the descending generations.

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TABLE 2. TERMINOLOGY MARKED IN TABLE 1 BY LETTERS.

A mutajjē.
B muta:yi.
C ajjē.
D ta:yi.
E apē.
F ayyē; if older than Ego's father, he may be called balliapē, if younger, cériapē.
G ma:vi^{n}; Ego's father's sister, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tamma:vi^{n}.
H avvē.
J ma:vē^{n}; Ego's mother's brother, as distinguished from others to whom this term applies, may be called tamma:vē^{n}.
K cikavvē; if older than Ego's mother, she may be called balliavvē (cf. F) or dodḍavvē, if younger, bo:javvē.
L annē, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are older than Ego.
M akē, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are older than Ego.
N tammaṇē, used of those brothers and parallel male cousins who are younger than Ego.
O taṅge, used of those sisters and parallel female cousins who are younger than Ego.
P ba:vē, used of those male cross-cousins who are older than Ego.
Q Maciṇē, used of those male cross-cousins who are younger than Ego.
R mammē, used of those female cross-cousins who are much older than Ego.
S maciṇi or maciṇici, used of those female cross-cousins who are younger than or of about the same age as Ego.
T mo:vē^{n}.
U mo:va; T and U may be called collectively maka.
V maymē.
W mayma.
X Kuruṃo:vē^{n}.
Y Kuruṃo:va; X and Y may be called collectively kuruṃaka.
Z no unitary term; collectively called kuruṃakaṇḍa maka 'children of grandchildren'; with distinction of sex kuruṃo:vē^{n}ṇḍa mo:vē^{n} (or mo:va) 'son (or, daughter) of grandson' and kuruṃo:vaṇḍa mo:vē^{n} (or, mo:va) 'son (or, daughter) of granddaughter'.